

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 DRC-01 OMB-01 ISO-00 ACDE-00 SAM-01 CIAE-00

PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01

PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 USIA-15 EUR-25 NEA-10 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 IO-14 OIC-04 AEC-11 AECE-00 EB-11 /173 W

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P R 251531Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2157

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0067

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 2641

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD ENDING MARCH 22,
1974

BEGIN SUMMARY: AT THE VIENNA MBFR NEGOTIATIONS THIS
WEEK, THERE WERE FEW SIGNS OF FLEXIBILITY ON EITHER
SIDE. IN THE MARCH 18 INFORMAL SESSION, ALLIED
REPS CONTINUED TO ARGUE AGAINST INCLUSION OF AIR
AND NUCLEARS IN REDUCTIONS AND EASTERN REPS FOR
SUCH INCLUSION, AND THE SESSION WAS AS MUCH OF A
STAND-OFF AS THE TWO PREVIOUS SESSIONS DEVOTED TO
THAT SUBJECT. IN THIS WEEK'S PLENARY SESSION ON MARCH
21, SOVIET REP KHLESTOV DECLARED THAT PROGRESS AT
THE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT PARTICI-

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PATION IN REDUCTIONS OF ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS FROM

THE VERY BEGINNING AND THAT THE WESTERN PROPOSAL FOR A COMMON CEILING ON AIR FORCE MANPOWER WAS "UNACCEPTABLE". AT THE PLENARY, ROMANIAN REP ANINOIU DELIVERED A LONG-PROMISED ATTACK ON THE INFORMAL SESSIONS WHICH HE SAID CONSTITUTED AN UNDEMOCRATIC WAY OF PROCEEDING. THE WESTERN PLENARY STATEMENT, DELIVERED BY THE UK REP, DEALT WITH THE ALLIED PROPOSAL FOR FIRST PHASE REDUCTIONS IN US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES. END SUMMARY.

BEGIN TEXT.

1. ROMANIAN REP ANINOIU, THE FIRST EASTERN SPEAKER AT THIS WEEK'S PLENARY ON MARCH 21, SAID THAT HE WELCOMED THE TROOP REDUCTION NEGOTIATIONS AND ANY PROPOSALS THAT WOULD LESSEN MILITARY TENSION IN EUROPE. ROMANIA CONSIDERED THAT THE FORCE REDUCTION TALKS WERE ONLY THE FIRST STEP TOWARD DISARMAMENT ON THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT AND IN THE WORLD AS A WHOLE. ANINOIU THEN CRITICIZED THE INFORMAL SESSIONS THE TWO SIDES HAVE BEEN HOLDING IN RECENT WEEKS. IN A NEGOTIATION WHERE "TRULY DEMOCRATIC METHODS" SHOULD APPLY, HE SAID, SUCH RESTRICTED MEETINGS HAVE NO PLACE. IN THE FUTURE, ANY WORKING BODY THAT IS ESTABLISHED SHOULD BE OPEN TO ALL PARTICIPANTS. ACCORDING TO ANINOIU, THE PRESENT INFORMAL SESSIONS ARTIFICIALLY DIVIDE THE NEGOTIATIONS INTO TWO FORMS OF ACTIVITY -- FORMAL AND INFORMAL -- AND GIVE A BLOC-TO-BLOC CHARACTER TO MBFR.

2. KHLESTOV'S MARCH 21 PLENARY PRESENTATION IMPRESSED SOME ALLIED OBSERVERS AS BEING STILL TOUGHER THAN HIS PAST STATEMENTS. AT ONE POINT HE STATED FLATLY THAT, WITHOUT THE PARTICIPATION IN REDUCTIONS OF ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS FROM THE VERY BEGINNING, NO PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE POSSIBLE. THE REST OF KHLESTOV'S SPEECH CONSISTED OF VARIATIONS ON FAMILIAR EASTERN THEMES AS WELL AS A PITCH FOR FIRST STAGE SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS. CITING THE WESTERN ARGUMENT IN SUPPORT OF INITIAL US-SOVIET REDUCTIONS

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THAT IT IS EASIER TO WITHDRAW FORCES FROM THE REDUCTIONS AREA THAN TO REDUCE THE FORCES OF DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WHOSE TERRITORY IS WITHIN THE REDUCTIONS AREA, KHLESTOV ASKED WHY THE UK AND CANADA SHOULD NOT THEN BE INCLUDED IN THE ALLIED FIRST PHASE. CLAIMING THAT THE ALLIED PROPOSAL ONLY REFERS TO GROUND FORCE MANPOWER AND "FORGETS" ABOUT THE ARMAMENTS AND EQUIPMENT OF THOSE TROOPS, KHLESTOV ASKED SPECI-

FICALLY WHETHER THE UK AND CANADA INTEND TO REMOVE THE ARMS AND EQUIPMENT OF THE TROOPS THEY WITHDRAW FROM CENTRAL EUROPE. THE SOVIET REP ALSO DEVELOPED THE THEME THAT NATO IS SEEKING UNILATERAL MILITARY ADVANTAGE IN MBFR. THIS WAS BORNE OUT, HE MAINTAINED, BY THE ALLIED PROPOSAL ITSELF, WHICH WOULD ALLOW SOME COUNTRIES TO INCREASE THEIR GROUND FORCES IF THEY WISHED AND WHICH, BY EXCLUDING AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES, WOULD STIMULATE IN ARMS RACE.

3. KHLESTOV CONCLUDED WITH A PLEA FOR THE SYMBOLIC FIRST REDUCTION STAGE PROPOSED BY THE EAST LAST NOVEMBER, SAYING THAT "A GREAT JOURNEY BEGINS WITH THE FIRST STEP." THE SYMBOLIC FIRST STAGE, AS KHLESTOV PRESENTED IT IN PLENARY, WOULD PROVIDE FOR THE REDUCTION OF 20,000 MEN ON EACH SIDE INCLUDING ARMS AND EQUIPMENT. THE AMOUNT THAT EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT WOULD REDUCE WOULD BE PROPORTIONAL TO THE NUMBER OF TROOPS THE PARTICIPANT PRESENTLY HAS IN CENTRAL EUROPE. KHLESTOV ADDED, HOWEVER, APPARENTLY IN REFERENCE TO THE GREATER FLEXIBILITY THE EAST HAS SHOWN IN THE INFORMAL SESSIONS ON THIS POINT, THAT "OTHER VARIANTS" MIGHT BE EMPLOYED TO DETERMINE THE SIZE OF REDUCTIONS BY INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPANTS.

4. AT THIS WEEK'S INFORMAL SESSION ON MARCH 18, DEALING FOR THE THIRD TIME WITH THE INCLUSION OF AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES, THE WEST WAS REPRESENTED BY THE US, BELGIUM, AND THE UK AND THE EAST BY THE SOVIET UNION, PLAND, AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA. SMIRNOVSKY WAS THE ONLY SOVIET REP PRESENT, DUE TO THE FACT THAT KHLESTOV WAS ILL AND CONFINED TO BED AT THE ORDER OF HIS DOCTOR. WHILE THE MEETING WAS
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ONCE AGAIN A STAND-OFF IN WHICH EACH SIDE EMPLOYED ITS USUAL ARGUMENTS, A NUMBER OF INTERESTING DETAILS OF THE EASTERN POSITION EMERGED. IN GENERAL, THE ALLIES ARGUED, AS THEY HAD IN LAST WEEK'S INFORMAL SESSIONS, THAT THE BEST WAY TO PREVENT WAR IN CENTRAL

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 DRC-01 OMB-01 ISO-00 ACDE-00 SAM-01 CIAE-00

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----- 081149

P R 251531Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2158

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0068

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 2641

FROM US REP MBFR

EUROPE WAS TO ELIMINATE THE DISPARITIES IN GROUND FORCES. THE EAST ONCE AGAIN MADE THE CASE FOR THE INCLUSION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS PRIMARILY ON POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL GROUNDS. EASTERN REPS MADE FREQUENT REFERENCES TO PUBLIC OPINION, WHICH THEY SAID WOULD SIMPLY NOT UNDERSTAND IF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, PERCEIVED AS THE MOST THREATENING ELEMENT OF WESTERN FORCES IN EUROPE, WERE NOT INCLUDED IN REDUCTIONS. AT ONE POINT, SMIRNOVSKIY STATED THAT A FORCE REDUCTION AGREEMENT WOULD BE POSSIBLE ONLY IF THE WEST WERE WILLING TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT EASTERN INTEREST IN AIR AND NUCLEAR REDUCTIONS. ARGUING FOR THE INCLUSION OF AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES IN THEIR SYMBOLIC REDUCTION PROPOSAL, EASTERN REPS SUGGESTED THAT THIS WOULD HAVE THE EFFECT OF FREEZING THOSE

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FORCES. THE DIFFICULTY OF COMPARING TYPES OF EQUIPMENT MIGHT BE DEALT WITH IN A SYMBOLIC STAGE BY INCLUDING ONLY A FEW TYPES WHERE SIMILARITY WAS GREATEST. DURING THE INFORMAL SESSION, THERE

WERE FURTHER SIGNS THAT THE EAST ACCEPTS, AT LEAST IN PRINCIPLE, THE WESTERN CONCEPT OF PHASED NEGOTIATIONS. SMIRNOVSKIY, FOR EXAMPLE, SPOKE OF THE SYMBOLIC REDUCTIONS AS A SEPARATE AGREEMENT WHICH SHOULD BE IMPLEMENTED DURING SUBSEQUENT NEGOTIATIONS.

5. THE SECOND INFORMAL SESSION SCHEDULED THIS WEEK WAS POSTPONED UNTIL MARCH 25 ON ACCOUNT OF KHLESTOV'S ILLNESS. ALLIED REPS MADE IT PLAIN THAT THEY INTENDED TO CONCENTRATE IN THAT SESSION ON US-SOVIET REDUCTIONS AND STABILIZING MEASURES, AND THE EAST HAS SO FAR RAISED NO OBJECTION. THE MARCH 25 MEETING WILL END THE FIRST ROUND OF INFORMAL SESSIONS. UNLESS AN UNFORESEEN EASTERN MOVE OCCURS AT THAT MEETING, ALLIED REPS INTEND TO PROPOSE A SECOND ROUND OF INFORMAL SESSIONS TO TAKE PLACE BEFORE THE EASTER RECESS. THE ALLIES WILL SUGGEST TWO SESSIONS, ONE DEALING WITH GROUND FORCES AND A SECOND DEALING WITH "OTHER TOPICS."

6. PRIOR TO THE ROMANIAN PLENARY STATEMENT THIS WEEK, BELGIAN REP ADRISENSSEN MET WITH ROMANIAN REPS TO BRIEF THEM GENERALLY ON RECENT INFORMAL SESSIONS. THE ROMANIANS EXPRESSED THEIR APPRECIATION, SAYING THAT THEIR EASTERN COLLEAGUES DID NOT KEEP THEM WELL INFORMED. THE ROMANIANS ALSO SAID THEY HAD HEARD EASTERN RUMORS TO THE EFFECT THAT THE INFORMAL SESSIONS WERE ABOUT TO PRODUCE A "BREAK-THROUGH" CONCERNING INITIAL US-SOVIET FORCE REDUCTIONS.

7. ASSESSMENT: THE SOVIETS THIS WEEK SEEMED TO ADOPT A MORE CATEGORICAL AND DETERMINED STANCE, BOTH INFORMALLY AND IN PLENARY. THIS WAS PROBABLY A TACTIC TO SHOW DISPLEASURE WITH CONTINUING WESTERN INFLEXIBILITY AND IN SO DOING TO NUDGE THE
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ALLIES IN THE DIRECTION OF ELEMENTS OF THE
EASTER PROPOSAL. AT THE MARCH 25

INFORMAL SESSION, THE SOVIETS HAVE SAID THAT THEY WILL PRESENT THE CONCLUSIONS THEY HAVE DRAWN FROM THE FIRST ROUND OF INFORMAL SESSIONS AND PERHAPS ASK SOME ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS ABOUT THE WESTERN POSITION. THE PLANNED WESTERN PRESENTATION ON STABILIZING MEASURES MAY ALSO CAUSE THE EAST TO EXPLAIN IN

MORE DETAIL WHY IT CONSIDERS THESE MEASURES
IRRELEVANT TO FORCE REDUCTIONS.HUMES

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